Review Essay

Turkey: Past and Present

Turkey: A Short History

***By* Norman Stone**

London: Thames & Hudson, 2010, 191 pages, ISBN 9780500251751.

The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)

***By* Candan Badem**

Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010, 432 pages, ISBN 9789004182059.

Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe

***Edited by* Deniz Göktürk, Levent Soysal, İpek Türeli**

London and New York: Routledge, 2010, 326 pages, ISBN 9780415580113.

Turkey's role in the contemporary world continues to be a subject of intense debate, especially at a time when its economic performance surpasses that of several states within the European Union. In the light of recent developments, with the United Kingdom vetoing a rescue plan approved by the other twenty-six EU countries and therefore facing a future on Europe's periphery, Turkey can now negotiate from a position of strength, secure in the knowledge that it is no longer Europe's sole outsider, perpetually confined to its economic and political margins.

The three books surveyed here address the subject of Turkey's relationship to Europe and the west from different perspectives: Norman Stone is a European history specialist, CandanBadem holds a PhD in Ottoman history, while the editors of *Orienting Istanbul* originate from film and media studies and history of art departments. Each book offers a fascinating insight into Turkey's past, and how it has shaped the country's present and future.

Stone's *Turkey: A Short History* covers familiar ground from the origins of the Ottoman Empire in the seventh and eighth centuries, to the decline of the empire in the early 20thcentury. A brief epilogue ("The Turkish Republic") traces the origins and development of the Kemalist state from 1923 to 2002. However Stone devotes most attention to the Ottoman period: nearly five-sixths of the book's short length is devoted to that subject.

The bulk of Stone's material has been gathered from English language sources, with occasional texts in German. In the "Further Reading" section I found very few citations of Turkish books. Stone writes well, with each chapter beginning quietly and ending with a climax. The chapter "World Empire" ends unequivocally: "the acquisition of Egypt [...] did wrench the centre of gravity of the empire away from the Christian Balkans towards the Arab world" (p. 49). This is followed by a concluding sentence which, like all good historical sagas, encourages us to

read on: "Megalomania beckoned, but for a time reality was not too far from it" (p. 49-51).

Stone looks at the major figures that shaped Ottoman history: Süleyman the Magnificent, Selim I and Abdülhamit. They bestride the empire, involving themselves in all affairs, both domestic and foreign, and make big gains or catastrophic mistakes. Süleyman is described as "the grandest piece in the fabulous clockwork he himself had created" (p. 59); Abdülhamit presides over "a time of tyranny" (p. 127) that was so all-pervasive that the boys at the Galatasaraylycée "could be got only with great difficulty to shout 'Long Live the Padishah!'" (p 127). One can imagine such moments transferring readily to the cinema screen, with a leading actor (whether Turkish or non-Turkish) being taken aback by such a tepid reaction.

Stone's approach certainly makes for an entertaining read, but tells us nothing about the day-to-day experiences of ordinary Ottomans. He prefers the kind of history based on great deeds—battles, royal proclamations and their outcomes, and power-struggles between competing foreign powers. Stone might have spent more time analyzing what might be termed the 'Ottoman' sensibility, and how it dominated domestic and foreign policies. Only then can we understand why Kemal Atatürk was so keen to create a new state based on a synthesis of local and western traditions. Stone also has a tendency to essentialize; he describes the reaction against the Armenian occupiers of Turkish territory in 1919-20 as "a Muslim reaction—we can fairly call it 'Turkish'" (150). Such statements overlook the fact that the fledgling Republic and the Ottoman Empire were multi-faith, multicultural states embracing different forms of Islam as well as other religions.

In its own way, however, *Turkey:A Short History* fulfils its stated purpose—to introduce Ottoman history to non-Turkish readers. Stone knows how to tell a good story, as well as marshal his evidence to support his conclusions. He is obviously fond of Turkey; in the book's concluding sentence he suggests that since the second millennium "Turkey had become an important place again, and, be it said, the only country between Athens and Singapore where [...] people [like Stone himself] actually wanted to live" (p. 165). Stone's lucid, witty writingstyle grabs our attention and refuses to let it go until he has finished his tale. We should be grateful to him for his achievement.

In stylistic terms, Candan Badem's *The Ottoman Crimean War* is the antithesis of Stone's book. Based on the author's doctoral thesis at Sabancı University, it represents a herculean effort of research, with material painstakingly gathered from libraries in Turkey, the United Kingdom and Russia. Occasionally the detail gets in the way of the design: with a multitude of sub-headings within each chapter, the book can prove exhausting to read. Nonetheless Badem has a good story to tell, one which had a significant influence on the last years of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19thand early 20th centuries.

Badem believes that while the Ottoman Empire was allegedly on the winning side in the Crimean War, victory brought them little benefit. Their finances were nearly exhausted and they ended up with little territorial advantage. Meanwhile the defeated Russians managed to declare void the neutrality of the Black Sea by the early 1870s.

The Ottomans also found it difficult to co-exist with their European allies, the United Kingdom and France. Both sides mistrusted one another: the Ottomans issued an edict designed to prevent European interference in the empire on behalf of Christian subjects. These subjects were not allowed to become army officers; even if they had been given this right, the British and French would not have approved of such a move. For the British the Crimean War was a cause for celebration—especially when the work of Florence Nightingale became well-known. For the Ottomans the campaign only served to emphasize the weakness of its government, its military strategy, and its diplomatic relationships. Badem concludes: "the war showed that the Ottoman army did not resemble its modern European counterparts [….] there was much corruption […] and the poor soldiers did not receive proper rations, clothes or shelters" (pp. 408-9).

Badem also suggests how past events continue to shape Turkey's present policies. Since the creation of the Republic successive governments have treated their European allies with suspicion in the belief that the Europeans seek colonization, whether economic or political (territorial colonization is now off the agenda, except, perhaps, in Cyprus). The Europeans are still wary of Turkish attitudes: religious differences still play an important role, despite the European Union's professed commitment to diversity and equality of opportunity. Now that the Turkish government has sufficient economic strength to find new trading partners, some Europeans are even more suspicious, believing that Turkey is about to turn away from the 'secular' (read pro-western) path. What *The Ottoman-Crimean War* tells is that Turco-European relations have been uneasy for over a century and a half now; it will take more than a few summit meetings to improve them.

Orienting Istanbul brings us right up to date with a series of interventions concentrating on how Istanbul has been represented over the past decade as a city of "culture, history and diversity" (p. 4). Divided into five sections ("Globalization, Heritage and Regeneration Debates," "The Mediatized City," "Art in the City" and "A European Capital of Culture"), the book shows how Istanbul's progress towards European integration has affected the lives of its citizens. The emphasis is on modernization due to liberalization and the rise of a consumer society, which has not only promoted industrial development but has produced new privately-funded cultural projects (for example, the creation of Istanbul Modern by the banks of the Bosphorus)

Çağlar Keyder's "Istanbul into the Twenty-First Century" offers a comprehensive overview of the subject. He notes that the city's economic regeneration has been so rapid that it has left Ankara behind; this rift has only been repaired through negotiation between business people and politicians. Keyder believes that "the untrammelled privatization of the market" has created prosperity for some Istanbullus (p. 33), but left many much poorer. Such social tensions are often overlooked in the pursuit of progress, but Keyder argues that an "appropriate [read all-encompassing] politics" needs to be developed.

Engin F. Işın's essay "The Soul of a City" traces a strain of thought—expressed most notably through the work of Orhan-Pamuk—that shuns the present and yearns

for a more all-inclusive past. Westerners might describe this feeling as nostalgic, but Işın believes that it has more to do with continuity—identifying the past in the present and vice versa. The Ottoman Empire is often invoked as a time when the country enjoyed the kind of power and influence it can never hope to achieve in the contemporary world. Işın believes—perhaps rightly—that this feeling could be class-based: as a representative of 'Old Istanbul' Pamuk resents the way in which the city has changed so rapidly, with the growth of the new monied classes—often from modest backgrounds in rural areas outside of Istanbul—who have achieved power and influence in a very short time. Two further contributions on building projects in different areas of Istanbul examine the ways in which 'transformation'—an umbrella term encompassing 'redevelopment,' 'restoration,' or 'excavation'—has been resisted by ordinary people, especially when their livelihoods are put at risk. ÖzlemÜnsal and Tuna Kuyucu rather naively hope for "a more democratic and inclusive 'urban transformation' agenda," but this is unlikely to be created in a capitalist society dominated by the desire for quick riches and cultural prestige (p. 167).

Jeremy F. Walton's essay on neo-Ottomanism andspace and place in Istanbul looks at the ways in which new Istanbullus harbor a "cherished ideal" of urban citizenship, rooted in a nostalgia for the Ottoman era and its aesthetics,while expressing a "contemporary Islamic cosmopolitanism" (p. 100). In the light of Stone's and Badem's accounts of the Ottoman era, I'd also suggest that this cosmopolitanism is romantic in conception, conveniently forgetting some of the empire's shortcomings (corruption, lack of finances, political weakness) that contributed to its downfall. In a world undergoing profound and rapid change, new Istanbullus look to the past for strength and encouragement. İpekTureli's essay on Turkish migrants likewise embraces this notion of change; in contemporary Istanbul "the migrant is no longer marginal […] the criteria for urbanite status depends on the influx of newly arriving peasants [as well as urban residents of other cities]" (p. 161). People have the freedom of movement from place to place, rendering the oppositions between town and city, urban and rural, 'New' and 'Old' Istanbul redundant. Türeli sees this change as evidence of globalization; I'd prefer to see it in domestic terms as a consequence of Istanbul's rapid economic growth. The city acts as a magnet for migrants both inside and outside of Turkey.

Other essays in this collection focus on the city's cultural life: art, music, and the preparations made for the city's elevation to a European Capital of Culture in 2010. Sometimes the arguments become repetitive and parochial: little attempt has been made to relate Istanbul to other areas of Turkey, whether rural or urban. Nonetheless the book represents a considerable effort on the editors' part to assemble a team of contributors from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, providing as comprehensive a picture as possible of Istanbul and its contemporary significance in a time of profound socio-economic change.

In theepilogue to the collection, Michael Herzfeld argues that Istanbul is pursuing a westernizing policy of modernization that proves problematic in a countrytrying to reconcile its European present with its Ottoman past. He concludes that recently there has been a turning away from westernization towards

Ottomanism: "the undisciplined side of Turkish life will not easily be silenced" (p. 321). I don't think that contemporary Turkish life can be reduced to such axiomatic terms: all three books demonstrate that religious, political and social tensions have been part of Turkish life since the early Ottoman period. Past, present and futureexist in a living continuum; hence the contemporary veneration for Ottoman values. This sensibility is very different from mainstream western thought, which tends to reduce everything to a series of binary oppositions ('Christian' versus 'Muslim,' 'past' versus 'present', and so on). Rather than attempting to 'explain' such tensions, perhaps we should just become more aware of them.

Laurence Raw, *Başkent University*

Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey, The Paradox of Moderation

***By* Güneş Murat Tezcur**

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010, 306 pages, ISBN 9780292721975.

In this original and engaging book, Gunes Murat Tezcur, a political scientist trained at the University of Michigan and currently teaching at Loyola University Chicago, analyzes two interesting cases of contemporary "moderate Islamic" political parties, the Iranian Reform Front and Turkey's Justice and Development (AK) Party.

Usually one expects a stark contrast when Iranian and Turkish developments are compared since the distinction between Turkey's enforced secularism and Iran's theocratic state could not be more striking. Yet, according to Tezcur, these two parties represent the most prominent post-Islamist movements in the Middle East, and therefore it behooves a political scientist to inquire whether they share any common features.

Ultimately Tezcur uses this comparison to test a particular political science theory—that of moderation. The common wisdom is that more radical groups will moderate as they attempt to achieve integration into legal and electoral systems. This thesis has proved especially important for academic analysts and policymakers in assessing the role of Islamist movements in the Muslim world and suggesting appropriate strategies for managing their incorporation into civil society.

The general consensus has been that moderation occurs because the requisite behavioral changes involved in the processes and strategies necessary for such groups to successfully participate in elections will eventually lead to changes in their outlook and ideology both at the individual and collective levels. The pragmatic compromises that are necessary in order to survive state repression and to have a broader electoral appeal will blunt initial fervor and commitment to rigid principles on the part of such movements.

Tezcur observes, however, that in both the Turkish and Iranian cases the leaders of these movements were already moderate and therefore we cannot conclude that moderation occurred due to their parties'

participation in the electoral process. More saliently, Tezcur interrogates the nature of "moderation", in particular its consequences for ultimate trajectories of democratization in these two countries and, by extension, in other contexts.

In a detailed analysis of the two cases Tezcur tests the moderation theory and complicates it, making the important observation that while "moderation" has characterized the recent history of these post-Islamist movements in Turkey and Iran it has not necessarily led to the parties involved becoming fully democratic in the sense of their supporting initiatives such as promoting human rights in all instances or of embracing transparency.

The book comprises nine chapters consisting of an introduction, followed by a discussion of how the transformation of Islamist movements into moderate reformist parties takes place and the implications of this for moderation theory. In order to set out the parameters of his argument, Tezcur presents a lucid overview of the development of moderation theory, tracing its evolution from the work of Robert Michels on radical socialist parties in the early 1900s. Three causal components leading to the moderation of such movements are their experience of state repression, participation in electoral competition, and their need to develop sufficient organizational resources (p. 31). Similar factors were seen to have been at play in the rise of Christian Democratic parties in Europe that moved them from confessional identity politics to embracing more broad and inclusive platforms.

Chapter three reviews the theoretical and historical elements in the relationship between Islam and democracy, tracing actual instances of democratization in a broad spectrum of Muslim countries to prove the point that Islam is not intrinsically undemocratic in either theory or practice. While the idealized textual analysis of the sort carried on by Muslim intellectuals can fairly easily demonstrate the fact that, rather than being timeless and rigid, Islamic principles can be invoked and interpreted to support agency in a quest for human rights, the rule of law, accountability of authority, and so on, Tezcur stresses the need to augment such material with hard data and the analysis of actual democratization in Islamic political contexts. Citing examples from recent surveys conducted in Muslim countries, Tezcur points out some of the inconsistencies plaguing purely cultural explanations for the development of democracy or lack of it in Muslim societies show that concepts such as democracy itself, or even shari'a, may have varied valences across nations.

Chapter four addresses how Muslim reformers engage with secular and liberal democratic elements and traces how Islamist thought has evolved against the background of the end of colonialism, responses to socialism and communism, and other issues. While current reformist parties are not set on establishing the totalizing Islamic state as envisioned by Maududi or Qutb, they would accept measures that promote conformity in the public sphere or maintain religiously sanctioned socially conservative attitudes and behaviors. As Tezcur notes in his introduction, this non-liberal dimension of post-Islamist reformism leaves him dissatisfied with its democratizing and liberal scope since such parties have not fully come to terms with social pluralism. In addition, both of these parties are susceptible to their op-

ponents' charges that they do not support the foundational principles of their respective national regimes, which means that they have each had to shift their platforms away from certain reformist agendas for the purpose of political survival.

Chapter five discusses the institutional environment of Muslim reformers in Iran and Turkey through concise yet detailed discussions of topics such as the constitutional and political system, the role of current economic factors, and the military and security apparatus. Chapters six and seven respectively review the recent histories of the Iranian and Turkish parties and the cases of recent elections. The Iranian Reform Front movement is described as arising from the unique case of a popular revolution that increasingly became channeled into a theocratic regime. By the 1990s many leftist leaning proponents of the 1979 Islamic Revolution had become disillusioned with the turn of events in the Islamic Republic. However, despite apparent reformist success in the elections of 2000 that brought Khatami to power, the Governing Council was able to continue to clamp down, closing newspapers, arresting activists, and so on. In the 2004 elections many reform candidates were disqualified. Ahmedinejad's June 2005 election ended the first reform era and the Iranian reform movement has proven to be been unsustainable.

The story of the AK Party is conversely one of electoral success followed by unprecedented reforms (some stimulated by the EU negotiations), increased economic growth, and an expansion of Turkey's sphere of political influence. While Tezcur faults the AK Party's democratizing stance on issues such as the rights of ethnic minorities, it is unclear whether internal or external pressures are most salient in restricting more progressive moves.

Tezcur has been a consistent observer of the rise of the AK Party over the past decade or so and was able to conduct research on the ground during the election cycles of 2002 and 2007. His overview and presentation of the Turkish political scene is astute and nuanced. Although his work on Iran is more recent, he has been able to conduct significant research there on several occasions and in particular during the 2005 and 2008 elections. While the methodology of this study is primarily qualitative, hard data including surveys conducted by the author, is also included and analyzed, in particular as it relates to election results.

In Tezcur's concluding chapters, chapters eight and nine, one of the main challenges to the premise of the study is addressed—why the AK party has been able to attain and maintain success in Turkey while the Iranian reformers did not succeed politically. He also makes an important distinction between the states treated here and weak states where Islamist movements such as Hamas and Hizbollah operate with strong organizations, concluding that these latter groups have little incentive to moderate under such conditions.

In terms of explaining the failure of the Iranian Reform Front, over time the movement became alienated from other activists in the spheres of women's rights, student associations, and workers' movements. Operating within the electoral system could not counter the authoritarian measures of the Iranian state. In the case of the Turkish AK Party, Tezcur sees weaknesses in its process of accommodating more and more with the "guardians" of the republic, and its implementing of increasingly authori-

tarian and hierarchal structures within the party. With the 2011 electoral success of the AK Party, continued expectations of constitutional reform will be a test of its sincerity and will to democratize.

World attention focused on the 2009 uprising in Iran when the Green Movement supporting Mousavi claimed that elections that gave an overwhelming victory to Ahmedinejad's hardliners had been rigged. Despite significant mobilization of the opposition and large protests, government repression ultimately contained and silenced the movement. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring of 2011, it seems even clearer that the only way to dislodge authoritarianism in such cases is civil disobedience rather than taking the route of legal procedures and negations. The difference, then, in the respective political cultures and ideology of the regimes in Turkey and Iran was crucial in the ultimate fate of moderate reformers, despite the common factors in their processes of moderation.

The book is a valuable addition to the literature on recent Middle East politics that is written in crisp and lucid style accessible to those interested in contemporary political science theory as well as to researchers on democratization, contemporary Middle East studies, and in particular current developments in Iran and Turkey.

Marcia Hermansen
Loyola University Chicago

Exploring Turkish Culture: Essays, Interviews and Reviews

By **Laurence Raw**

Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2011, 402 pages,
ISBN 9781443826396.

Laurence Raw's volume, *Exploring Turkish Cultures*, makes a significant contribution to English language scholarship on cultural life in modern Turkey. It is a collection of conference papers, journal articles and lectures which Raw has authored over his academic career in Turkey, clustered into three sections on the fields of education, theatre, and film. The chapters offer social scientists and historians a rare insight into the cultural ramifications of the policies they analyze, while presenting cultural historians with rich empirical material.

The book's main strength, and what moves it beyond an exclusively cultural studies readership, is the way in which the historical and political context is used in its analyses of Turkish culture. Raw discusses both the state sponsorship of culture, through the Ministry of Education and its Translation Office for example, and independent arts productions at different historical moments in Turkey. One example concerns the mediation of European and American cultural production. Thus Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, widely interpreted as a critique of the American Dream, received "considerably more optimistic" treatment in 1950s Ankara (p. 214), during the US-oriented Democrat Party era, while today, the

same play is seeing fresh interpretations in Turkey.

Raw's writings have a dual mission—to unpack essentialisms in relation to Turkey which originate from the West, and those prevalent amongst Turks themselves. Raw's introduction therefore begins by blasting the stereotypes affecting Turkey's European Union (EU) bid. Raw applauds the Radio 4 series *Postcards from Istanbul* for "exploding" these. In Istanbul, he says, "a city whose people feel at ease with complex and fluid cultural constructions, such binary oppositions as individualism and identity, west and east, past and present no longer seem very significant" (p. 63). Raw later analyses Tunç Okan's 1974 film *Otobüs* on Turkish emigrants in Sweden, affirming that its statement on European orientalism "still holds true today" (p. 275). In discussing Western-Turkish relations, the author's own voice might have proven problematic, but Raw navigates this by disassociating from Eurosceptic arguments and noting Turkish reactions to them. He shows how curators of Turkey's Mediterranean-region museums "reinvent" Eurocentric notions of "classical past and exotic present" (p. 104). Raw also analyses new historical films which exhibit "secular populism", a strand of nationalism that rejects both Western orientalism and state brands of Turkishness (pp. 353-4).

The second theme addresses nationalist orientalist notions inside Turkey itself to highlight the diverse experiences of different Turkish citizens and "focus on how individual lives are constructed" (p. 74). Raw critiques the enduring secular nationalism of the Turkish state and its imposition of cultural homogeneity, whether through the headscarf ban, historical museum education, or the limits on Kurdish expression—as exposed in the 2009 documentary *Iki Dil Bir Bavul*. Meanwhile, Chapter seven examines how Turkish opinion-formers have dealt with postmodernist notions, whether of identity, state control, or knowledge production, and gives careful voice to all sides. Raw highlights the work of Turkish Cypriot director Derviş Zaim, who is quoted asking a critical question: "whether it is possible for contemporary Turkish filmmakers to create a work of art 'that places neither ourselves, nor others into the position of "other"'" (p. 288).

In terms of the book's structure, Raw begins with "Education, Culture and Politics", discussing the impact of state policy and pedagogical debates on educational institutions in Turkey. The chapters range over the restructuring of cultural studies in various universities' humanities departments, EU-inspired proposals on teaching oral and local histories, and the construction of Euro-American cultures in foreign language teaching. Raw emphasizes learner- over teacher-centered methods, hence the detailed description of his interactive poetry classes, and the invocations of Ismail Hakkı Tonguç, the pioneer of Turkey's Village Institutes.

The following sections are on "Theatre and Film": here a real strength of the book is as a rich empirical source on cultural production in Turkey. Raw begins with concise introductions followed by extended interviews with giants of Turkish theatre and film such as Cuneyt Gökçer, Yıldız Kenter, Genco Erkal, Nesrin Kazankaya, Ayhan Işık, and *sultana* Türkan Şoray. Raw explores the individual quests of several post-nationalist artists towards the common goals of intellectual freedom and social equality. He also notes failures

along the way, discussing the 1993 Sıvas fire for example, and critical scholars such as Azim Bezirci who perished in it.

One weakness of the book, despite Raw's generally accessible style, is that he occasionally offers too much narrative, paraphrasing other writers' arguments more than analyzing them. In some places, his summaries of these writings are so condensed, traversing complex theories (linguistic, pedagogical, philosophical) and historical moments, that they are difficult to follow.

It should also be noted that the book, while underlining its theme as Turkish cultures, is weighted towards a critique of mainstream or state-sponsored culture, rather than presentation of alternative cultures. There are no chapters on the cultures of the Kurdish south-east, or of rural Anatolia, but rather on education and the arts in Ankara and Istanbul, both state-directed and subversive. Meanwhile, the artists interviewed in the book describe their multiple reference points from American and European, even Russian, literature, while the entire cultural world to the east of Turkey is hardly mentioned throughout. Despite its zeal to surpass the dichotomies of West/East, urban/rural, secular-progressive/religious, the book founders at times on its constriction within these very parameters.

These insights only underline the need for further English-language scholarship on Turkish culture—Laurence Raw's volume is a significant contribution to this endeavor. He has written an informative volume, placing individual rights, pluralism and democratization at the heart of each chapter's agenda.

Reem Abou-El-Fadl
University of Oxford

Opposition and Legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire

By **Florian Riedler**

London and New York: Routledge, 2011, 114 pages, ISBN 9780415580441.

The history of rebellions in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period has received a fair degree of coverage by both Turkish and western scholars. This present book addresses five major oppositional incidents during the 19th century that attempted to remove the reigning sultans from power. Riedler attempts to study the nature of these incidents, the background of people involved and the target of the opposition to study the continuity and change in political culture in post-Tanzimat period. He argues that in the absence of public political culture, political parties, and a parliamentary government plus personal charisma and politics, household networks and patronage, secret societies as well as conspiracies formed the political culture of Ottoman society. The Tanzimat reforms had led to greater centralization and an expansion of the government's sphere of influence, thus generating opposition both within the ruling class and the society at large,which also included religious groups. The Janissaries had been typically at the forefront

of rebellions and with their elimination, the Ulema and the Young Ottomans (bureaucrats trained in modern schools) emerged as leaders of opposition. The author focuses on events in Istanbul, the capital of the empire, rather than large-scale uprisings going on in Anatolia and the Balkans.

The first chapter provides a general and brief introductory background on the political culture in the Ottoman Empire, again focusing on the capital. The second chapter deals with the famous Kuleli incident in 1859, a movement organized by the Society of Martyrs to kill Sultan Abdulamecid. The organizers who failed in their plans were arrested and interrogated by the police; they included a high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrat and a Sufi sheikh.

The third chapter focuses on the Young Ottoman opposition, their activities in the Ottoman Empire through the oppositional press led by Ibrahim Şinasi, Ali Suavi, Namik Kemal and Mustafa Fazil Pasha (the so-called Patriotic Alliance), which were inspired by the Italian Carbonaria,and the secret society in Istanbul called Vocation. In Paris, the Young Ottomans were calling for the creation of a parliamentary government to limit the arbitrary power of the sultan and his ministers. This group formed an opposition in exile in Paris called the Young Ottoman Society and established a newspaper, *Hürriyet*. But when the assassination plot against Grand Vizier Ali Pasha by Vocationfailed in June 1867 and the group involved (400 people) was arrested, the remaining activists in Paris returned to the Ottoman Empire and most of them made their peace with the government. Most of the conspirators were low-level bureaucrats and four were of religious background. It is not clear whether the Young Ottoman leaders in Paris were directly involved in this plot. The press in exile (*Hürriyet* and *Muhbir*) emerged as the medium for opposition along with the secret societies. At any rate, the group soon split due to disagreements and the appeasement policies of the Ottoman state and most of its members returned home after the death of Ali Pasha in 1870. The author argues that the Young Ottomans as well engaged in traditional form of opposition and personal politics despite their call for a modern constitutional government. But perhaps in the absence of formal political institutions, government repression and surveillance and the personal nature of politics, this was their only choice. It is the chicken and eggstory, and which came first. Democracy is a process and cannot emerge in the absence of democratic institutions and public culture as well as civil society structures. In the absence of independent political parties, it is inevitable that personal networks, Sufi and Freemason lodges, newspapers and secret societies would form the most important forums of debate and political action.

Chapter four discusses the rise of theconstitutional discourse that transformed Ottoman political culture by calling for constitutional limits on the power of the sultan, although the 1876 Constitution retained much of the traditional and executive power of the sultan,who could close down the parliament in an emergency situation. Consequently, after such a development in 1877, Sultan Abdülhamid emerged as a more absolutist sultan after he abandoned the constitution until he was deposed by the Young Turks in 1908.

Conspiracies as a form of opposition reemerged and the government played its heavy hand in repressing them and creat-

ing a police state. Chapters five and six discuss a number of such incidents, such as, in chapter five,the Çirağan incident led by Ali Suavi and a group of disgruntled Muslim refugees from the Balkans which sought to restore Sultan Murad V in 1878. But the plot failed and the participants were arrested, and tried in military courts. The author compares this incident to the Kuleli riot in its conspiratorial action to violently overthrow the sultan according to principles of Islamic legitimacy and to get rid of his ministers without clear aims and vision for real political change.

Chapter six discusses the conspiracy organized by the Skalieri-Aziz committee in July 1878that was discovered by a police raid. The conspiracy involved friends of Sultan Murad V, a Greek Ottoman subject and petty officials who also aimed at restoring Sultan Murad V. But unlike the previous conspiracies, the leader of this one was a Greek Ottoman subject, a stock broker, and a close friend of Sultan Murad V, named Kleanti Skalieri.This was factional politics at best within the dynasty with some support from outside but had a limited popular base and suffered from the same problems as the previous conspiracies, i.e. personal and factional politics, lack of clear vision of political transformation, and conspiratorial and secretive methods.

The author proposes that the membership of some of the leading Young Ottomans and the Skalieri in Freemason lodges might have accounted for the secretive nature of oppositional politics. This is an intriguing suggestion that comes at the end of the bookrather than the beginning. Freemasonry was also important in Iran and in the opposition politics to the Qajar government. Many leading members such as Malkom Khan were initiated in Istanbul in such lodges as the Grand Orient, Union d'Orient, and Proodos which promoted a liberal agenda such as the equality of all Ottoman subjects and had mixed membership. Sultan Murad V himself was initiated into Grand Orient. Social networking rather than engaging in political discourse was the aim of membership in Freemason lodges, according to the author. However, we still lack an in-depth analysis of Freemasonry in the Ottoman Empire.

Riedler refers to the Young Ottomans as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie who were the products of the Tanzimat reforms and modern education but does not provide more examples beyond the well-known figures, nor does he expose their ideas. He also emphasizes the role of non-governmental media and newspapers. But he does not really discuss the content of these newspapers. Perhaps a separate chapter could have been devoted to intellectual production and the content of oppositional newspapers. He may be right to emphasize the role of personal relationships and secret societies rather than intellectual networks and political ideas in oppositional politics and political culture during this period. Nevertheless, we still need to know what these personalities were debating. The author could have taken issue with Şerif Mardin in his classical study of the Young Ottomans. There is also a spelling mistake with Nakşbend, which is also spelled as Nakşfend (pp. 73, 75, 80). However, this book does a good job in opening up the debate on the political culture of the last century of Ottoman rule in Istanbul.

Fariba Zarinebaf
University of California-Riverside

American Image in Turkey: U.S. Foreign Policy Dimensions

***By* Giray Sadik**

Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009, 110 pages, ISBN 9780739133804, $50.

The US-Turkish relationship has faced trouble since the Iraq War. On the one hand, the current Justice and Development Party government has pursued new foreign policy initiatives toward its neighbors in the Middle East. Turkey's approach toward Iran, for instance, has caused policy makers and commentators in Washington to wonder "did the United States lose Turkey?" On the other hand, we have observed a rise of anti-Americanism in Turkey. During the Cold War era, anti-Americanism in Turkey was not so widespread; it was contained to leftist circles. Since 2003, in contrast, anti-American attitudes have become widespread among citizens regardless of their political and ideological positions. What accounts for this rise of Turkish public opinion unfavorable to the United States? Under what conditions could the image of America in Turkey improve? Giray Sadik's *American Image in Turkey* addresses these interesting and important questions. He considers how American foreign policy has affected Turkish public opinion toward the United States between 2000 and 2006.

Sadik hypothesizes that there is a positive relationship between pro-American public opinion among Turks and the amount of military aid, economic assistance, foreign direct investment, and bilateral trade provided by the United States. For instance, Sadik speculates that when the volume of US military assistance to Turkey increases, we can observe a parallel increase of favorable public attitudes toward the United States. In order to identify the impact of US aid, foreign direct investment, and bilateral trade with Turkey, the author examines how Turkish public opinion toward Washington is associated with each of these elements of American foreign policy. Turkish public opinion toward the United States, which constitutes the dependent variable in this study, is measured by using a series of the PEW Global Attitudes Project. According to the data, more than 50% of the respondents had a pro-American opinion before the Iraq War, but favorable opinions toward the United States dropped sharply after the war. In 2004, anti-American feeling slightly dissipated, but increased again in the subsequent years. Sadik investigates to what extent the changes in Turkish public opinion toward the United States are congruent with changes in these independent variables.

The reviewer has serious reservations with the author's hypothesis that the US aid and its economic relationship with Turkey are causally associated with pro-American public opinion in Turkey. If citizens change their attitudes toward the United States as an effect of the variation in US military assistance, this means that they must have knowledge about, or at least be aware of, the amount of military aid Turkey receives from the United States. Sadik, unfortunately, never touches the topic of how this intimate knowledge of state affairs is accessed. If citizens do not know the changing amount of US military aid received by their government, then we can not causally relate the rise

and decline of pro-American attitudes to the variation in US foreign aid. This problem is relevant to all other independent variables including economic assistance, foreign direct investment, and bilateral trade. Throughout the book, there is no discussion or data demonstrating that citizens are aware of the fact that the volume of bilateral trade and investment from the United States has changed over years. Sadik also hypothesizes that the US economic assistance which might have helped Turkey recover from the 2001 economic crisis can be expected to positively contribute to Turkish public opinion toward the United States. This hypothesis is not empirically testable unless (1) we confirm that US economic assistance in fact played an important role in Turkey's recovery from the economic crisis and (2) we have evidence demonstrating that Turkish citizens were aware of the role played by US assistance in the Turkish economy after the crisis. No tangible data is provided in the book, however. The author writes that "in case of diminishing trade with the United States, it is likely that these industries will have to institute labor reduction. In turn, frustrated by their unemployment, those workers and families are likely to blame the United States" (p. 66). Again, this causal relationship is not plausible unless we empirically confirm that citizens, who lost their jobs because of the decline of the trade volume with the United States, are really likely to put blame on the United States rather than their own government.

Sadik's analysis about the impact of US foreign policy on Turkish public opinion toward the United States produces mixed results. In some cases, there is inconsistency between the trend in Turkish public opinion and the trend in US foreign policy. However, in other occasions, he finds a parallel trend between them. For instance, he argues that his hypothesis is partially supported by the data because when favorable Turkish public opinion toward the United States declined in 2002-3, pro-American public opinion simultaneously moved down. In 2003-4, these two variables increased together, which he also claims supports his hypothesis. It is true that in figure 2.1 (p. 28) it appears that these two variables co-vary in the positive direction, but there is no discussion that explains how the US military aid is "causally" related to Turkish public opinion. It is quite possible that this relationship is spurious: that there is no causal relationship between them at all. We can, for example, explain this correlation in terms of another factor. In 2003, Turkish public opinion became more anti-American because of the Iraq War (not because of the decline of military aid to Turkey), and the US military aid decreased because the Turkish government did not allow US troops to use military bases in Turkey. Thus, it is logically plausible that the decline of pro-American citizens and the decline of military aid were caused by the Iraq War, which is an antecedent variable affecting both public opinion in Turkey and American policy toward Turkey. If this is the case, pro-American public opinion and the amount of military aid are not causally related to each other.

Another problem in the book is the absence of time order between the independent and the dependent variables. According to the data Sadik provides, pro-American views among Turkish citizens changed simultaneously with changes in US policies toward Turkey; as the relationship between public opinion and the

US military aid in 2002-3 shows. In order to establish causality, however, an independent variable must occur prior to a dependent variable. Thus, there should be a time gap between a change in public opinion and a change in aid. Sadik's analysis violates an important criterion for causal explanation.

There are other factors that influence American image in Turkey, such as the motion to pass the Armenian Genocide bill in Congress, the US policy towards the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers Party) in northern Iraq, and the overall condition of the Trans-Atlantic alliance. Although Sadik treats these as "intervening factors" in this book, it seems to the reviewer that these contextual factors have far more rigorous impacts on American image in Turkey than military assistance, economic aid, foreign direct investment, and bilateral trade. During the 1960s and 1970s in Turkey, when socialism and anti-imperialism were widespread among urban intellectuals and university students, there was a negative, rather than positive, relationship between US policy toward Turkey and public opinion toward the United States: those leftists were against the development of a closer tie between Ankara and Washington. When there is a rising anti-American sentiment in a country, the increase of military aid and economic engagement with the recipient country can escalate anti-American public opinion rather than improve America's image as Sadik suggests. Thus, contextual factors can completely change the direction of the relationship between public opinion toward the United States and U.S. foreign policy.

In this short monograph, Sadik attends to an interesting and important question on the US-Turkey relationship. As he accurately claims, scholars should pay more attention to the American image held by ordinary citizens in Turkey because public opinion has become an important determinant of Turkish foreign policy in recent years. Sadik also touches upon a rarely examined relationship in the literature: US foreign policy and public opinions toward the United States in foreign countries. Thus, the implication of this book is relevant to US foreign policy making as well. Although Sadik's data analysis and causal explanation suffer from some problems, which this review describes above, *American Image in Turkey* is a timely contribution to the literature on the US-Turkey alliance.

Masaki Kakizaki, *University of Utah*

Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire

By **Marlene Laruelle**

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, 276 pages. ISBN 9780801890734, $60.

'Eurasianism' is a relatively new concept in Russian history, and not one that appeals beyond a fairly narrow circle. The argument goes back to the turn of the last century, when, looking for a Russian identity, one or two scholars, headed by a Prince Trubetskoy, discovered their Asiatic roots. Here lay temptation. Was

Russia somehow a creation of Europe, of Germans especially? Peter the Great had famously set about the westernization of the place, and St Petersburg had been put up almost as a stage-set, "a combination of Wedgwood and cardboard". By 1900, something of a nationalist reaction to such westernization set in, and the Eurasianists made much more of their Asiatic—for short, 'Tatar'—side. They had had quite enough of hearing that the original Russians had been drunken buffoons whose civilization had to be planted upon them by Vikings or Poles or Baltic Germans. No, they said, we have a Tatar side, and we owe a great deal to the Asiatics. In this, they were quite right. Pushkin had said, of the Mongols who had crushed Russia for two and a half centuries, that they, unlike the Arabs who had taken so much of Spain at the same time, had not brought "Aristotle and algebra". But in reality the Mongols brought a great deal, especially in styles of government. A third of the old Russian nobility had Tatar names ("Yusupov" from "Yusuf", "Muraviev" from "Murad", etc.) while Ivan the Terrible himself descended, through his mother, from Genghiz Khan, and through his grand-mother from the Byzantines. For a long time, under the Soviet Union, a sort of vehement and stupid nationalism was permitted to occlude the Tatar element in Russian history. Now, matters are rather different. In 2005 there were celebrations of it at Kazan; and there is an interesting aspect of Putin's reign, that Tatars have been doing remarkably well.

There was a considerable scholar, Lev Gumilev, who devoted his life (despite periodic persecution) to the study of Russia's Turkic roots (a substantial book, *Eski Türkler*, a translation, is kept in print by Selence Yayınları, 2007). This is of course a difficult subject, given that the sources are mainly external—Chinese, Arab, Byzantine, etc.—and there is always a serious question to be asked: so what? Here, the Eurasianists seem to have been divided. Some were downright anti-religious, seeing Christianity as namby-pamby stuff; others cultivated old Slavonic stuff, and there are surely cultural roots to Eurasianism that Miss Laruelle might have noted: the Stravinsky of *Firebird*, for instance, is stating a variant of Eurasianism when he celebrates the old myths of Slavdom, from an era when Finns, Tatars and old Slavs intermingled in the forests of Muscovy and Novgorod (it is certainly curious to see Turkish place-names quite far to the north). There are today a few Turks, notably Mehmet Perinçek, who argue for an alliance with Russia in the name of Eurasian solidarity, and of course if there is a country where the concept makes sense, it is Turkey. However, beyond a few adepts, it is not a particularly popular cause; even, the lack of institutions for the study of Russia in Turkey is striking, and surely not a good thing: when Turks go to Russia, they become very popular. Mayor Luzhkov, who has made a remarkable job of turning grim old Moscow into a lively and attractive city, says he much prefers dealing with Turks because they do not arrive with platoons of lawyers and they get on with the job. That ENKA built the head-quarters of Gazprom (and rebuilt the Russian parliament after 1993) says much. Or perhaps it is just that the Turks can understand the local styles of corruption: they know how to bribe with dignity.

It is tempting to suppose that Russia's (and Balkan countries') crest, the dou-

ble-headed eagle, somehow reflects the division of the Roman Empire between western-looking Rome and eastern-looking Constantinople. Formally this is quite wrong: the bird has much longer origins (there is a Hittite original in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, dated 2000 BC). But it is a very good symbol of 'Eurasianism', the notion that Russia looks both ways, that her identity is not European at all. 'Eurasianism' was (and to some extent still is) an intellectual current of some seriousness in Russia, and Marlene Laruelle, who has a distinguished academic pedigree in France and the USA, has done some hard work in sources that are not easy. The book, and particularly its references, are helpful if you need to consider Russian attitudes to the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Norman Stone, *Bilkent University*

Exploring the Caucasus in the 21st Century: Essays on Culture, History and Politics in a Dynamic Context

***Edited by* Françoise Companjen, László Marácz *and* Lia Versteegh**

Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, University of Amsterdam, 2010, 254 pages, ISBN 9789089641830.

According to the introduction of this book, it is the hope that this collection of essays "will enhance insight on the Caucasus and cogently encourage European Union citizens and civil servants to develop more policy towards the South Caucasus" (p. 22). Such is considered essential by the authors since the EU became a "Black Sea power" in 2007 with the memberships of Romania and Bulgaria and the impact of the August 2008 Russian-Georgian war, in which Russia was sending a message to the West that it regarded the region as its own "backyard. Interestingly some of the chapters deal with developments in the North Caucasus—a part of the region politically attached to the Russian Federation—that may affect or be affected by developments in the South Caucasus. Most of these essays, while diverse in subject matter,are brief in length, but welldocumented and clearly written; despite the title of the book, some chapters include extensive historical background especially regarding the 19th and 20th centuries when the entire Caucasus region was either under the control or being conquered by the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. Recurrent themes in this book are: 1) the transition process through which the South Caucasus republics have been moving from autocratically-ruled to hopefully more democratic societies with greater political and economic freedom, and 2) the Russian Federation's relations with the republics of both the North and South Caucasus.

The first essay by LászlóMarácz deals with the expedition to the North Caucasus of Hungarian linguist Count Bálint de Szentkatolna (1844-1913) who studied and developed a dictionary for Kabard-

ian and believed that the language was "Turanian" and part of a hypothesized family including Uralic, Altaic and Dravidian languages, a controversial idea. While Hungarian is indeed a part of the Uralic family along with Finnish and Estonian and the ancient Hungarians were in contact with the people of the Northern Caucasus, the Hungarian language—one of a handful of tongues in Europe that is not Indo-European—is not related to Caucasian Kabardian or even the so-called Altaic group in which Turkish is claimed to be related to Mongolian, let alone the Dravidian languages. Hungarians, who were partners in the Austrian Empire at the time, were engaged in identity formation as are the Kabardians, who inhabit primarily the Russian Federation's republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, as well as other peoples of the North Caucasus today.

In another linguistic-related essay concerned with the North Caucasus, Michael Kemper discusses the importance of Classical Arabic in Dagestan, a multi-ethnic and multilingual republic in the Russian Federation. Before the Russian conquest of the North Caucasus, Arabic served as the main medium for interethnic communications and, of course, for religious instruction afterwards. While the Soviet administration and the reform-minded Jadidists cooperated initially, by the late 1920s most Islamic institutions were either closed down or destroyed. The Latin script was adopted for indigenous languages and Russian language instruction was made mandatory the following decade with the Cyrillic script replacing Latin for native languages. However, beginning in the 1960s newly established Soviet museums and institutes engaged in preserving Arabic and Arabic script historicaldocuments; upon the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s there was renewed attention given to Islamic religious literature that was condoned as long as this was done by state-supported "traditional" groups as opposed to "Wahhabis," referring to popular fundamentalists.

Other essays include a short ethnopolitical history of the people of the Caucasus, relations between Chechnya and Russia (with emphasis on the last two decades), and seven dealing specifically with the South Caucasus. Of the latter group, one deals with artistic freedom in Armenia and Azerbaijan by focusing on the works of a collection of artists over the last couple of decades who view their work as an "alternative for a civil and political dialogue to call for understanding, collaboration and peace among South Caucasus cultures…" (p. 249).The other essays are concerned with political and legal issues such as authoritarianism and party politics, the interaction of nationalism and statehood, the legal status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the violations of freedom of speech in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Françoise Campanjen's chapter on the 2008 Russian-Georgian war,which presents the event from four different perspectives, including those of the South Ossetians and Abkhazians, is an especially useful starting point for those in search of a concise account. For further elaboration one should also consult the works of Cornell and Starr[1] and Asmus.[2] While the West continues to support Georgia's territorial integrity, only Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Nauru recognize the "independence" of Abkhazia and South Ossetia; in contrast, while Russia viewed Kosovo as a prec-

edent for such recognition, as of the end of April 2011 some 75 countries out of the then 192 UN member states recognize the former Serbian province. Charlotte Hille points out in another chapter, "In principle international law takes a neutral position towards secession, but practice shows that *de facto* states are mostly not recognized by other states if the metropolitan state does not approve of the secession. This is different if there are longstanding human rights violations or genocide against a people…" (p. 197). She also notes that "all parties manipulate international to their own advantage" as there are still binding UN Security Council resolutions for both Serbia's and Georgia's territorial integrity.

It seems that there are no easy solutions to solving the ethnic conflicts of the Caucasus or in transforming the political culture of the region, but this collection of essays is good for thought and highly recommended by this reviewer for both scholars and the general public.

Michael B. Bishku
Augusta State University

Endnotes

1. Svante E. Cornell and S. Frederick Starr, eds., *The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009).

2. Ronald D. Asmus, *A Little War That Shook the World: Georgia, Russia and the Future of the West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

A Companion to the Muslim World

Edited by **Amyn B. Sajoo**

New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009, 204 pages, ISBN 9781848851931.

This first book in a new series from the Institute of Ismaili Studies includes a dozen essays on various aspects of the Islamic world, cutting across geographical and temporal lines, from a wide-range of scholars working in the UK, US, and Australia. The introduction to the volume, by its editor Amyn Sajoo, provides an original and broad overview of the major issues facing the study of the Muslim world today, including the events and aftermath of September 11, globalization and the so-called "clash of civilizations" model, the foundations of Islam, modes of expression within Islamic civilization, the role of women and liberal thought in Islam, and the increasing importance of "networks" on the conceptualization of what constitutes the Muslim world.

Reza Aslan's chapter on "The Prophet's City" is an unusual and fresh attempt to narrate the historical context from which the prophet Muhammad emerged and how the story of these origins established and helped to shape perennial debates in the following centuries. Like many of the other essays in this volume, Aslan does not include footnotes and writes in an easy, readable style which seamlessly links historical description and scholarly analysis to specific issues such as the significance of Medina as a model for both democracy and militancy in contemporary Islamic thought, Muhammad's model of leader-

ship, issues of tribalism, gender equality, slavery, and the relationship among Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

Aslan's chapter is nicely complemented by Abdullah Saeed's essay on the Quran which provides a broad but concise introduction to the content and text of the Quran, its interpretation, and the place of the Quran in the framing of social and political issues throughout the history of Islam. Saeed gives brief definitions of different types of Quran exegesis, including theological, legal, mystical, philosophical, modernist, scientific, and feminist before focusing on six major modern Quran interpreters: Fazlur Rahman, Amina Wadud, Mohamad Shahrour, Mohammed Arkoun, Khaled Abou el Fadl, and Abdolkarim Soroush.

The next four chapters are linked by common themes and attention to overlapping theoretical issues such as gender, the inclusive nature of Islam, social solidarity, and the generation of authority in Islamic contexts. Amir Hussain's chapter on "Islam in the Plural" allows for an important and well-reasoned corrective to many of the simplified monothetic views of Islam and Muslims. Hussain draws specifically on contemporary American historians of religion and moves from the origins of Islam to its contemporary manifestations. Bruce Lawrence's chapter on "Networks of Solidarity" moves forcefully among examples from diverse Islamic contexts including Ibn Battutah, Muslim traders in China, Ibn Khaldun, the Crusades, Ghazali, Senegal, al-Qaeda, and the internet in Tunisia and Afghanistan. This varied and compelling picture shows change throughout the history of Muslim societies and emphasizes the plurality of contemporary conceptions of how Muslim communities can be formed, defined and continue to evolve. Azizah Yahia al-Hibri's chapter on "Women and Social Change" and Shainool Jiwa's chapter on "Inclusive Governance: A Fatimid Illustration" both use specific, carefully documented and analyzed cases to exemplify models of how Muslims have historically sought to define themselves in an inclusive but distinct fashion. Both of these authors argue that Muslims have available a wide array of examples upon which to build and foster an even more expansive and pluralistic vision of Islam.

Chapters 8-12 each focus on more defined aspects of Muslim society that both distinguish Islamic characteristics and illustrate the enmeshed nature of Muslims in the larger global civilizations in which they lived and to which they contributed. Hasan-Uddin Khan's chapter on "The Art and Architecture of the Mosque" includes basic information on the architectural features of mosques, their usage, and the close connection between mosque design and the cultural settings in which they were constructed and used. Amira K. Bennison's chapter on "The Umma in the City" fits well with Khan's chapter on the mosque. Bennison helps to define what makes an "Islamic" city and focuses on a number of prominent and significant examples such as Cordoba, Marrakesh, Cairo, Isfahan, and Delhi.

Anil Khamis's chapter on "Cultures of Learning" offers a fresh approach to the various definitions and historical effects of the different Muslim conceptions of knowledge, its transmission, and its close relationship to forming social identity, especially across larger regional and trans-regional communities. Khamis

grounds statistics from the contemporary Muslim world in more classical ideals of education typified by the Quran, Jahiz, and the medieval madrasah system. Raficq Abdulla's chapter on "A Conference of Bards: Rumi to Adonis" is an excellent and original introduction not only to Arabic and Muslim literature but to the Islamic notion of voice and ear, and to the abiding influence of certain cultural models on poetry. The final chapter by Gary R. Bunt on "The Digital Umma" brings many of the earlier themes and issues in the volume into contemporary focus. Bunt's chapter stresses not only how the internet and other digital environments allow the non-digital models of early times to flourish, but also how new communications technology has led to striking changes in how Muslims continue to imagine themselves as a diverse by unified community.

All of the chapters provide helpful lists of suggestions for further readings, and overall the writing styles of the volume should be accessible to a large audience including scholars, policy makers, and educated lay people. This is a book that might be best recommended for someone who is interested in learning more about Islam without recourse to what would otherwise be a large pile of more specialized scholarship.

Brannon Wheeler
United States Naval Academy

Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (1880s-1930s)

By **Amal N. Ghazal**

Oxford and New York: Routledge,2010, 171 pages, ISBN 9780415779807, £75.

This is a well documented book focusing on the Omani Ibadhi religious elite and their role in the socio-cultural, historical and political development of the north-western Indian Ocean basin between the period around the partition of Africa and the Second World War. The book is composed of seven chapters, plus 23 pages of references and notes to sources, and 19 pages of bibliography that help the reader map out the contours of the discussion and aid scholars interested in pursuing the same line of research.

The book narrates the history of the region written, as it were, with the monsoon winds that for many centuries have been propelling the dhows to and from the western Indian Ocean basin and the Arabian Peninsula. This facilitated the circulation not only of goods but also of people and ideas. It was in this context that Oman and Zanzibar cultivated social and cultural bonds as well as intermarriages. The book clearly indicates that "the advent of Omani rule in the region and the movement of the Capital of the Empire from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1832 made the two domains of the Albusaidi dynasty become sides of the same coin, forging a complex relationship that makes

isolating modern Zanzibar history from that of Oman a difficult if not impossible task". While it is clear that the Omanis in the 16th century came as liberators, rescuing the Swahili coastal people from the Portuguese atrocities committed in their crusade against Islam and their attempt to monopolize the trade along the Swahili coast, the author does not evoke the process that led to the usurpation of power from the Swahili traditional leaders by the Omanis. It is interesting at this juncture to point out here that the Omanis are seen as natural leaders/rulers of Zanzibar and the power struggle that ensued between the Omanis and the British over Zanzibar before and after the establishment of the British protectorate in these Spice Islands is portrayed as part and parcel of the Omanis' resistance against colonialism and imperialism. The author describes very subtly the mechanisms of the British maneuvers in their endeavor to assert their political control in the region, culminating in the breakaway of what used to be known as the *Daulat Zinjbar* ("Zanzibar Empire") following the death of Seyyid Said bin Sultan, the first sultan of Oman and Zanzibar.

The mobilization of all the possible resources against the imperial power by the Omani Ibadhi religious elites, notably the revival 'Nada' movement, was motivated by the defense of the territorial integrity of the disintegrated empire. The struggle for the reunification of the empire spearheaded by the Nada movement played an important role in connecting Oman and Zanzibar through the advocacy of Arab nationalism. The Arab nationalism propagated by the Nada movement abandoned very quickly its parochial Pan-Ibadhi religious ideology and campaigned for the emergence of a Pan-Islamic cultural and political awareness. It was this political acknowledgement by the Nada movement that their struggle then became part of a global movement and did not remain a local one. This global movement against the imperial and colonial powers ultimately placed Zanzibar symbolically at the centre of Arab-Muslim world. In this light, Zanzibar was considered politically and ideologically an integral part of the larger Arab world as it simultaneously represented "Arab" glory and defiance. Hence, Islamic reform and Arabism became a trademark of Zanzibari intellectual life at the turn of the century and left lasting traces on Zanzibar's Arab literature.

While scholars have spent a great deal of attention on the development of the Omanis and Hadhramis in the Indian Ocean, far less work has been done on the interaction with the Ottoman Empire. There are bits and pieces here and there but no thorough study has been conducted to further highlight the historical connection between Turkey and Zanzibar. This book provides some insights on this subject as the author shows that the role of the Omani elite in Zanzibar went beyond supporting the Ibadhi Nada and financing its leaders, but also included fostering strong relationships with Istanbul during the Hamidian period (1876-1909) as a result of the Ottoman Sultan's Pan-Islamic policy. The latter resonated in many parts of the Muslim world, including Zanzibar, whose sultans cultivated strong and significant relationships with the Ottoman court. The cordial relationships between Zanzibar and the Ottoman court reached their climax with the visit to Istanbul of Zanzibari scholar Ahmad bin Sumayt and

the official visit of Sultan Ali bin Hamoud (1902-1911), who was received by Sultan Abd Al Hamid II himself in Istanbul in November 1907.

The author's academic approach goes openly and clearly against the African initiative school of thought, which purposely and consciously turns a blind eye to the transoceanic historical background of Zanzibar by over-emphasizing the socio-historical connection with the interior of the African continent. Paradoxically, what the author presents as an alternative approach to the above-mentioned schools of thought, attempting the deparochializing of the histories that are labeled as Arab and African by looking at them as one and the same, does not seem to have succeeded much. For it seems that despite her efforts, she unconsciously could not avoid reading and interpreting Zanzibar's history with Arab lenses while withholding the comparison of Zanzibar with Andalusia as the lost Arab land in the Indian Ocean. Similarly, her consideration of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) as an Arab party is unfair to what used to be a broad-based mass party initiated by peasants of Kiembe Samaki, Zanzibar. The alliance between the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Egypt of Gamal Abdul Nasser as being motivated, according to the author, by Arab affinities needs to be looked at carefully, for on the one hand Gamal Abdul Nasser was a republican who came to power through a revolution that overthrew King Farouk, and on the other hand, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party was represented and considered to be pro-sultan.

Nevertheless, the author provides ample information on the origin of the Ibadhi, hence Kharijism, as a branch of Islam. She also focuses on various Ibadhi religious scholars and their contribution in the academic reflection and publications. The financial and material support of the various sultans in the development of the literary works and the dissemination of the publications is given particular importance. The intensity of the author's academic analysis sheds particular light on the development of the tripartite relationship involving Oman, Zanzibar and Ottoman Empire, highlighting the political alliances that emerged in the name of Pan-Islamism. Zanzibar emerged in this context according to the author as having the status of "the sun of the east" that is also feared by the "Christians of the West".

This publication may be considered an important contribution towards the on-going debate among the Swahili intellectual elite on the need for reviving the links that existed for many centuries between the Arab Peninsula and the Indian Ocean. The book's scholarship is of a high standard. The author has not only compiled abundant information from the written materials available on the history of the Indian Ocean basin, but has also conducted a number of significant interviews with prominent scholars and socio-political actors of the region. The book depicts very well the British role in the disintegration of the empire as well as in the king-making process both in Zanzibar and Oman. This intellectually stimulating and thought provoking publication is recommended as essential reading for historians, anthropologists and all those interested in the political evolution of the Swahili world in general and Zanzibar in particular.

Mohamed Ahmed Saleh

The Unfamiliar Abode: Islamic Law in the United States and Britain

By **Kathleen M. Moore**
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 197 pages, ISBN 9780195387810, $55.

Scholarship devoted to the examination of the Muslim faith has matured in recent decades. No longer is Islam seen as a monolithic institution, but its greatdiversityand the varied histories and experiences of the community's members have been the focus of considerable scholarly attention. Yet, beyond the scholarly arena, the diversity of the Muslim community is not widely recognized.

During a recent conversation I had with a North American Imam, the assertion was made that Islam was the "most misunderstood religion in the world." I am not sure whether this statement is precisely true, as most religious systems seem to endure a considerable amount of popular misinterpretation. Still, it is certainly true that individual Muslim communities are often subject to being mischaracterized based upontheir wrongful association with disconnected events transpiring in far-flung and remote regions of the globe. It is against the backdrop of these realities that Kathleen Moore offers a nuanced consideration of the British and American Muslim communities.

The Unfamiliar Abode, as this volume is entitled, is a reference to the ill-defined social space inhabited by Muslims living in America and Britain. As Moore observes, Muslims may frequently find themselves caught between seemingly irreconcilable competing demands extending from their own faith tradition and secular systems. At some level, this apparent conflict is made even more perplexing for Muslims inhabiting "pluralistic" social systems, which nonetheless promote policies that lead to ostracism of practitioners of the Islamic faith. The dominant question she asks is how such communities, located within two of the world's largest developed democracies, are responding to these rival expectations.

In particular, Moore seeks to examine the ways in which diasporic Muslim communities may utilize religious jurisprudence and other tools to ensure the continued relevancy of their faith even within the context of social settings that impose unique social demands.

Perhaps, the greatest contribution this volume makes to current scholarship is its attempt to identifykey questions that may shape future scholarship. The study of Muslim communities situated in the West is a field that is truly in its infancy. Certainly, many have made considerable contributions to its development, including Yvonne Haddad, Jane Smith, John Esposito and others. Meanwhile, a structure continues to be shaped upon the foundation they have laid and the disciplinary framework is given shape through the inquiriesposed by current scholars. In this volume, Moore invokes particular questions that serve to establish a thesis for each of the volume's substantive chapters.

In the first chapter, Moore characterizes Muslims residing in the United States since September 11, 2001, as a minority community facing "exceptional circumstances" and challenges. In this light, she asks the question of how US Muslims may best craft the parameters of a com-

munity self-definition that is viable within a pluralistic social context. After a brief discussion of the nature of pluralism and a consideration of the evolution of the Islamic community in the United States, Moore questions the extent to which traditional Muslim authorities outside the West offer meaningful direction to adherents of the faith residing in North America. She questions whether the pluralistic environment of modern America will itself be altered by the presence of Muslims or whether pluralism will demand a "modernized" and reformed Islam.

In the second chapter, Moore turns her attention to the Muslim community of Britain, with a particular focus upon the establishment there of "an Islamic diasporic jurisprudence." This chapter begins with a brief consideration of the nature ofdiasporic communities, with emphasis upon the typical lack of homogeneity of such groups. She asserts that to speak of any diasporic community often encourages a "false sense" of group cohesion. Moore offers an exploration of the evolution of diasporic institutions in Britain, designed to provide venues for the adjudication of matters in accord with principles of Islamic law, even while noting that there is little agreement within the broader diasporic community of the specific demands imposed by this body of law. She is concerned about whether these emerging institutions will adequately accommodate social expectations and the varied perspectives of the members of the Muslim community. As a potential pathway for overcoming this challenge, Moore focuses significant attention upon the thoughts of Azzam al-Tamimi and his observation that "[j]urisprudenceis the mirror that reflects the conditions of time and place…," a statement that seems to suggest that religious law can be responsive to contemporary social circumstances.

Returning to the experience of Muslims in the United States in chapter three, Moore considers the function and importance of cultural symbols in communicating messages about the Muslim faith. She uses as her primary example the case of US Representative Keith Ellison's decision to use a copy of the Qur'an once owned by Thomas Jefferson as he took the oath of office upon his election to Congress. In this chapter, Moore considers dominant popular representations of America and the perceived threat to this identity imposed by Ellison's election and use of the Qur'an.

Chapter four provides an examination of the British attitude towards *shari'a* law and its imposition within the country. Here, Moore provides a brief history of the establishment of *shari'a* councils in Britain, designed to offer a forum for Muslims to have disputes decided in accordance with principles of religious law, and the secular government's response to these entities. Moore questions whether the acceptance of certain *shari'a* council structures by the British government has served to institutionalize a specific Muslim identity, while marginalizing other visions of the nature of the Islamic faith.

The final chapter focuses attention upon the experience of Muslim women living in the United States. Moore considers the issue of Islamic dress, identifying isolated cases from travel security, workplace requirements and school standards. She also gives attention to the consideration of Islamic law by US courts in marriage and divorce litigation. Through this

review, she raises the question of which system should hold sway when demands of a specific religious tradition appear to conflict with the equal rights of women.

On the whole, while the work is somewhat uneven at times, it raises some useful and timely issues and plays an important role in anticipating future directions in academic research and scholarship.

Mark E. Hanshaw
Texas Wesleyan University

Gender and Islam in Africa: Rights, Sexuality and Law

Edited by **Margot Badran**

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011, 336 pages,
ISBN 9780804774819.

Accepting the responsibility of writing a review of a book like this volume edited by the outstanding scholar Margot Badran is both challenging and pleasant. Margot Badran is currently a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Middle East Program) in Washington, and she has become well known in the academic and non-academic *milieu* for her contributions on women, gender, and feminism in Islam and Muslim societies. In particular, there has been an increasing interestin herwritings, such as in her two books *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences* (Oneworld, Oxford, 2009), a selection of her scholarly work over more than two decades, and *Feminism beyond East and West: New Gender Talk and Practice in Global Islam* (Global Media Publication, New Delhi, 2007), which brings together a collection of her public intellectual work, mainly essays published in the Egyptian *Al Ahram Weekly*.

In the imaginary and complex sceneries of the great Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges, books are conceived as gateways to different worlds.In publishing *Gender and Islam in Africa: Rights, Sexuality and Law*, Margot Badran has not only made avaluable compilation of papers from a conference organized at the ISITA (Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa), but she has also presented a volume that illustrates how a multidisciplinary approach to studying issues such as gender, sexuality, and Islam can facilitate the perception of the complex and subtle ways in which African women's lives are constructed, represented and contested. Thus, this is a scholarly book that will open, in the "borgean" sense, a gateway to new worlds for both non-academic readers and researchers.

Margot Badran's edited volume gives a complex picture of Africa. In addition to reflecting on current theoretical and methodological tendencies, *Gender and Islam in Africa* also puts forward new innovative approaches to the critical exploration of several relevant and controversial issues, such as corporeality and sexuality. Moreover, it offers very interesting data.

This volume is composed of three parts: a first section entitled "Women re/produce knowledge", a second section entitled "Re/constructing women, gender,

and sexuality", and a last section entitled "Shari'a, family law, and activism". Chapters variously focus on knowledge production (Chapter 1, Beverly B. Mack), marginality and agency (Chapter 2, Ousseina D. Alidou), Islamic feminism (Chapter 3, Raja Rhouni), gender violence in marriage (Chapter 4, Sa'diyya Shaikh), moral woman hood in popular songs (Chapter 5, Lidwien Kapteijns), gender ideology and praxis in the Tabligh Jama'at (Chapter 6, Marloes Janson), visual culture (Chapter 7, Heike Behrend), Shari'a activism (Chapter 8, Margot Badran), monogamy and secret marriage (Chapter 9, Corinne Fortier), democracy and reform (Chapter 10, Julie E. Pruzan-Jorgensen), and family laws (Chapters 10, 11 and 12, Julie E. Pruzan-Jorgensen, Benjamin F. Soares and Rashida Manjoo).

As stated before, one of the main virtues of this book is that it constitutes a good example of multidisciplinarity as contributions come from the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, political science, linguistics, literary criticism, gender studies, religious studies, feminist studies, film studies, and the law, and they are informed by different theoretical and methodological frameworks and perspectives. Data are gathered from different African countries like Nigeria, Niger, Morocco, South Africa, Somalia, Gambia, Mauritania and Mali. Even if the book starts off with a chapter that examines female intellectual production in the early 19th century, it generally focuses on the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Both its view of the African continent as a whole and its focus on the contemporary contexts make the book an important and unmissable reading.

As Badran points out, women and gender in Africa as a field of research and academic inquiry goes back several decades. Islam, sexuality, and law have been points of serious debates in African societies' scholarship, and this book brings together scholarship at the intersection of women's and gender studies, Islamic studies, and African studies.As a result, the book shows an exciting convergence of interests.

It is important to stress the fact that most of the authors seem to write with a view to challenging different existing "givens". Thus, in implicitly and explicitly questioning previous approaches, the book enhances and advances scholarly debate on relevant, but much discussed and non-comfortable issues. Indeed, the authors successfully move beyond scholarship on "Muslim women" and leave behind simplistic ideas on women's agency and autonomy. Interestingly, they succeed in moving away from a simple focus on woman-as-victim of Islam, presenting new possibilities for shifting the debates around issues of gender, rights and Islamic laws.

Gender and Islam in Africa is a valuable resource for scholars interested in gender and Islam and,more generally, to social scientists working on Africa. The articles in this volume highlight the fact that women themselves have contested discourses, practices, and laws, and have promoted influential advances in their societies, such as in engaging in public transformative acts in the cultural, political, and economic domains through social networks in religious or secular spaces (Ousseuna D. Alidou); in negotiating gender ideologies in daily practices (Marloes-Janson); in claiming a depatriarchalized Islam (Margot Badran); or in legally using the subtleties or ambiguities of Islamic jurisprudence to make their wishes prevail

(Corinne Fortier).All the articles in this volume, in various and different ways, endeavor to shed light on the socially significant aspects of African women's actions and ideas.

In sum, *Gender and Islam in Africa* offers a refreshingly new perspective on a broad range of issues and will be a welcome contribution to many fields within the social sciences and humanities. I am convinced that this book will reward those whose interests lie in exploring women's agency, and that it will also bring a reward to those whose concern with gender lies in challenging the current notions and stereotypes. Last but not least, Margot Badran's edited volume enhances critical understanding of the ways in which African women have promoted the ideals and practices of equality, human rights, and democracy within the framework of Islamic thought.

Araceli González-Vázquez
Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, Collège de France

The Rise of Islamic Capitalism: Why the New Muslim Middle Class is the Key to Defeating Extremism

***By* Vali Nasr**

New York: Free Press,Council on Foreign Relations Books; 2010, 320 pages, ISBN 9781416589693, $16.

On November 30, 2006, Catholic Pope Benedict XVI made a historic visit to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul. The Pope's historic visit to what tourists call the "Blue Mosque" was designed to symbolically ameliorate tensions caused by the Pope's controversial speech a few weeks prior in Germany. During the visit to the mosque, the Pope turned toward Mecca and gave a silent prayer for two minutes. As he and his entourage began leaving the mosque, the Papal leader pointed to an inscription on a wall and asked for the translation of the phrase written there, which was "A merchant is the beloved of God" or "al-kasib habiballah" (p. 12).

This historic moment is used in Vali Nasr's book Islamic capitalism to illustrate the point that Islam has deep entrepreneurial roots. The revival of this spirit he argues is the most important trend in the modern Muslim world. The growth of a new Muslim middle class he believes will both undermine terrorism and dissipate the influence of radical Islam on political discourse in the Muslim world.

Vali Nasr, an Iranian-American professor at Tufts University in Boston, argues that during the second half of the 20th century several Muslim countries underwent an impressive transition from closed and statist economies to more open and liberal economies. This new Muslim middle class is rising in the Gulf, Turkey, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere in the Muslim world by embracing the global economic order. Nasr's book omits, perhaps, the rapidly growing Muslim middle class amongst Muslim diaspora groups in the European Union and North America,

which may in fact be the fastest growing of them all. Regardless, Nasr argues that the attitudes of this new bourgeoisie are both pious and materialistic. He specifically highlights Turkey in his book as one of the most successful examples of this.

Extremism, and the political chaos it breeds, is bad for business. As a result he argues that this ideology is being brushed aside across the Muslim world. In a dramatic example, Nasr points out that during the Algerian Civil War (1991-2002) shopkeepers who were funding the insurgency grew tired of the ongoing civil war as it was bad for business (p.168).

While there is great work being done on Islam and economics, rarely is it found in such a readable format such as this one. This might be changing. In the context of the so-called "Arab Spring", the rates of youth unemployment, internet penetration, and economic growth are being included in reports and writings on the region. Additionally, the successes of Turkey have made it clear that the economics of the region goes far beyond the measurement of barrels per day of petroleum production.

This new Muslim middle class is not a reaction to Muslim extremism but a reaction to "Kemalism". The vision of Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, according to Nasr, was one of statist economics and hyper-secularization. This had prolonged consequences in holding back the region as Nasr notes: "In the Middle East, by contrast, after a promising start in the early twentieth century, the middle class was largely the product of the state, and it forfeited its role as the vehicle of liberalization, opting instead for state patronage. This was a tragic legacy of Kemalism" (p. 112).

In Kemalist states the military enforced secularism and "stifling conformity" on Muslim societies the author argues. Kemalism took many forms in the Middle East, from Shahist Iran to Abdul Gamal Nasser's Egypt. The most recent and curious case from the Muslim world is maybe that of former President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan.

There is no doubt that Musharraf saw himself as the next great Kemalist reformer. Musharraf spent much of his childhood in Turkey and it is clear the country left a lasting impression on him. To this day Musharraf still speaks some Turkish and is a fan of Besiktas, the legendary Istanbul football club. While president of Pakistan (2001-2008) and afterwards, Pervez Musharraf often mentioned the Turkish leader in his speeches.

There were those in the international community who were willing to make this comparison as well. A 2007 *New York Times* article gushed that Musharraf was "[In] his swagger, his eagerness to pull Pakistan into the Western orbit of power, he is reminiscent of the legendary Turkish leader."[1] But Pakistan had Kemalist tendencies long before Musharraf took the reins of the nuclear-armed state. Pakistan, as Nasr points out, has been more or less dominated by the military since 1958.

Vali Nasr's argument that supports for "Islamic" states is passé will be put to the test in the coming months as the peoples of the Arab world begin to form new governments and hold elections. Nasr believes that only with a strong middle class will democracy develop firm roots in the Muslim world. Vali Nasr quotes the scholar Barrington Moore Jr. who famously stated, "No bourgeois, no democracy" (p. 112). Yet, in 1930s Eastern

Europe and in Latin America during the Cold War the bourgeois class has at times courted authoritarianism rather than democracy. Global polling shows attitudes toward democracy are waning amongst the global middle class.

There are some slight errors in this slender book. For example, some would translate "kasib" not as "merchants" but rather as "wage earners." But, these errors in no way detract from the strength of Nasr's efforts. In 2009 the book was originally published under the unfortunately obscure title of *The Forces of Fortune*. The Council of Foreign Relations, which printed the book through its publishing arm, has aggressively promoted the text and launched the book with events and conference calls designed to raise awareness of the title. Going even further the text was rebranded and re-released under such titles as *Islamic Capitalism* (2010). Clearly, Nasr's publishers are aware that this text is at least an equal accomplishment as his 2006 work on the Shia Revival.

Joseph Hammond

Endnote

1. Fouad Ajami, "With Us or Against Us". *New York Times*, January 7, 2007.

Muslim Marriage in Western Courts: Lost in Transplantation

By **Pascale Fournier**

Farnham: Ashgate 2010, 206 pages, ISBN 9781409404415.

Pascale Fournier's book addresses the highly contentious and complex relationship between multiculturalism, gender relations, and family law in liberal states. It adds to the rapidly growing body of legal scholarship that grapples with the legal consequences of cultural diversity within states that once may have contributed through colonialism to the creation of pluralist legal systems 'elsewhere.' Unfortunately, this scholarship tends to replicate the historical divide with too little attention paid to the rich analyses of 'law' by those working on and within legal systems in what can now be described as the 'global south.' Hopefully the series in which Fournier's book is published (Cultural Diversity and Law edited by Prakash Shah) will bridge this gap.

Fournier's book confronts three major concerns. The first is the 'problem' of Islamic law. Politically, particularly in Europe, there is growing Islamophobia and a retreat from multiculturalism, as a state supported project. Muslim minority communities, now long established within their original host state, who seek to live by Islamic values and norms, can be seen as not properly 'belonging' and therefore 'suspicious,' even though, as Fournier makes clear, that state may have in effect denied them access to citizenship. Islamic law, often hazily and lazily understood in popular parlance as 'shari'a,' is a flash point for such anxieties.

The second related issue relates to the role of women in Muslim communities. Feminism faces a major dilemma in the

present political context: analyses of unequal gender power relations within minority communities or campaigns to support women are quickly picked up and used in racist onslaughts. Yet, not engaging in such analyses or action can lead to the reinforcement of dominant power relations within communities and a failure to provide support for vulnerable members of a state. As Fournier demonstrates in Chapter 1 there is no consensus within feminism on the way in which gender relations are understood within Islamic family law.

The third more specifically juristic concern is with the issue of 'transplantation,' a topic much discussed within the legal literature relating to colonialism but here considered in the context of metropolitan law. It involves asking the question: do laws in general 'travel' and are there particular issues associated with the movement of (Islamic) family laws? As Fournier points out, addressing these questions raises wider analytical questions relating to the nature of 'law.' What is this 'thing' that travels? A monolithic, unitary, distinct and separate entity (a metaphorical book of rules) extracted from one setting and placed intact in another? Or fluid indeterminate norms that are products of specific religious, social, cultural, political contexts which regulate or provide the bargaining framework for relationships? The conceptual division between 'the public' (the appropriate domain of state and its law) and 'the private' (not the concern of the state) within liberal thought raises particular challenges for 'travelling' family law because it is often seen as more associated with norms than laws and highly context specific.

Fournier sheds light on these broad issues through her study of the Islamic family concept of *mahr*: the payment that a wife is entitled to receive from her husband in consideration of the marriage. This payment, which is paid to the wife (not her guardian), is obligatory. The different schools of Islamic law construct mahr in different ways but in general mahr is payable at two stages: a relatively modest sum on entry into marriage (prompt) and usually a significantly larger sum on divorce (deferred). Fournier is particularly concerned with the way in which the judiciary of various states understands mahr when it is called upon to adjudicate upon disputes that arise over distribution of assets upon divorce.

The strength of Fournier's book lies in its detailed and careful coverage of her well defined topic. In chapter 1, she introduces us to the concept of mahr and explains how it works within the wider context of Islamic family law. She shows how mahr operates within the different forms of divorce (talaq, khul, and faskh). Fournier provides an excellent understanding of the way in which Islamic family law structures the economic relations of spouses and maintains regulatory power at the dissolution of marriage. She stresses that mahr is part of the parties' bargaining strategy "in the shadow of divorce" and argues that there is no such thing as a specific Islamic mahr that could travel homogeneously to Canada, the US, France or Germany."

She substantiates this claim very convincingly in her detailed discussion of the way in which the judiciary in these four jurisdictions have approached the issue of mahr. She argues that across the jurisdictions, judges have adopted three discernible approaches, all of which are based on different understandings of liberalism. The first (legal pluralist,) considers mahr

as central to the cultural and religious identity of specific communities; the second (formal equality) adopts a positivist stance to law and seeks to incorporate mahr into the domain of a civil contract; the third (substantive equality), reflecting feminist arguments, places mahr within a web of unequal power relations. Interestingly, Fournier argues none of these approaches renders any certainty of outcome: for instance it can be argued within any of these jurisdictions that mahr has the attributes of a civil contract or lacks the certainty to be one. She concludes that all three produce inconsistencies and unpredictability and there is no such thing as a Canadian mahr or a French mahr. What is produced is a "complex contradictory and shifting mahr which exists as a bargaining endowment 'in the shadow of the law' … which 'does not easily travel." (108)

Her final substantive chapter broadens the specific discussion to reflect (to a greater or lesser extent) on the wider questions set out above using a range of ideas drawn from a diverse group of scholars. While this chapter offers many insights, it has a tendency to appear episodic and it might have been better to concentrate on developing one or two of the very interesting points in more detail.

Fournier deliberately does not provide us with any clear answers to the question: how should 'transplanted' mahr be used by the courts. She leaves us, however, with a very clear understanding of how mahr has in fact been used, which is invaluable resource for those interested in shedding clearer analytical light on this complex area. She also leaves us with a strong sense that the judges should be alert to the ways in which bargaining over mahr can reinforce injustices between unequal parties. Despite the complexities of the interactions between state and Islamic family law she considers that the courts guided by concepts of fairness and distributional justice are the preferred location for such matters rather than community based dispute resolution forums.

Ann Stewart, *University of Warwick*